

THE IMPACT OF RURAL EXODUS
ON THE OCCUPATIONAL PATTERNS
OF THE CITIES
(ANKARA'S CASE)

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INTRODUCTION:

DUE to already well known causes, after World War II, social mobility has witnessed a rapid and steady growth resulting in a population increase at a rate of 3% annually in Turkey.

In 1927 the population of Turkey was only 13.5 million, in 1965 it has reached 32 million, an increase of two and half times within forty years. This has occurred particularly in rural areas, causing a continuous city-wards migration on a large scale. This in turn raised the sizes as well as the numbers of cities. In 1955 there were only 17 cities with a population above 50.000, whereas by 1965 the figure was doubled. Parallel with this development the population of cities like Istanbul, Izmir, Adana, Samsun, Ankara and Konya to mention only a few, also grew three or four times larger, in some even more.

In 1945 the population of Ankara was 226,712. The following five year interval censuses of 1950, 1955, 1960 and 1965 showed consecutive increases by 288, 536, 451, 650, 667 and 902, 118 respectively for each period. From 1955 to 1960 the city's population reached about a million, an increase of 450, 877.

Around 1936, the city had two small administrative districts. Approximately within a little less than twenty years' time the demographic push obliged the authorities to set up two others by 1953 and 1957 respectively. At the present, these districts are divided into 'mahalles', city wards.

At the present time, of the city's 187 wards or quarters, 112 are 'gecekondus'. Of the remaining 75, the majority are old (casbahs) and there are only a few modern type settlements. More than half of the city's population lives in 'gecekondus' wards. With the addition of the old quarter inhabitants and people living in the unsanitary basements of apartment houses this proportion approaches 65%-70% of the total population.

This phenomenon shows very clearly the rapidity by which some old, small towns have been developed into these congested and crowded agglomerations with particular physical sub-areas encircling them. The name given to these speedily mushrooming areas is 'Gecekondu Mahalleleri', squatter settlements; the people living in shelters constructed therein are 'Gecekondu Aileleri' squatter families. These families, together with their physical living quarters form the gecekondu communities.

In this paper our main objective will be to show the basic socio-economic origins of these communities and their place in the general framework of the developing big cities. For this reason we have taken Ankara's case as an example.

Materials presented herewith are taken mainly from a study made by the writer on the squatter families of Ankara. Before exposing this and other material, differentiating characteristics of the gecekondu and the old city settlements must be briefly pointed out, which we turn to presently.

THE GECEKONDU AND THE OLD CITY SETTLEMENTS:

'The gecekondu' is a compound term consisting of two words, *night* and the *settled*, implying a shelter constructed in one evening, very quickly. The shelters built in this fashion in large groups, in various locations of the city, make up gecekondu settlements. Physically, as well as socially, they form transitional places between the old and new residential sections of the city. Many, in appearance, resemble 'the compact and crowded' Anatolian villages. Almost all of them are the uniform one-room, one-storey adobe houses of a similar physical arrangement, shape and sizes; with their small yards, paths, trees, chickens and wooden house attachments.

The deteriorated old city settlements, with buildings of mixed construction material, shape and looks, form another agglomeration of 'the congested and worn out' quarters, similar to the 'casbahs' of the North African shanty towns. The houses in these settlements are of one, in many cases more than one, storey with several rooms in them. In the majority of the cases, a separate or shared door with numbers of their own; each room forms an independent household.

Most of the old city settlements are located within the walls of the ancient Fortress. Some near to them, some by its peripheries, and some lower down the city; whereas gecekondu areas encircle the big city, sprawl all over the valleys, the hills, and slopes with striking wall colors rustic and humble looks. With the exception of some relatively old congested ones, in general, they are in better sanitary conditions.

In the old city quarters, a very few original inhabitants live today. These places have been and are being invaded by others and by the incoming peasants. At the same time they also serve as temporary residences for the transient and the seasonal people. As no new construction is allowed in these areas, the physical appearance of the buildings are very old and worn out in contrast with the other settlements.

The dweller of the old quarters quit these places if and when they can build or buy their own houses, or find some other more desired quarters to live in. However, these settlements never become vacant as the shortage of housing is a serious problem in the city. Therefore, one can look at these agglomerations as floating communities.

Those are the main differentiating features of the two types of settlements. On the other hand, however, they have some characteristics which are common to both. In the following we mention only two.

In the first place, practically all of the inhabitants of these places are of rural origin and background. They hold similar jobs and are employed in like occupations.

The second common feature comes from the first one, in that their ways of life coincide in many respects.

These people share similar past experiences, unite in the habits of dressing, eating, cleanliness, recreation and many others. Their attitudes toward certain objects and ideas do not differ much. They are united in basic beliefs, values, hopes and aspirations. With these unifying characteristics, they may be thought of as the largest and the most fundamental part of the socio-economic patterning of the city community.

THE PROBLEM:

Compared to the middle class consisting of successful professionals, merchants, tradesmen, highly paid civil servants and the upper class big merchants, entrepreneurs and top professionals, the people in the gecekondu and the old city settlements lie at the bottom stratum of the city's population. This layer in many ways differs from the lower socio-economic classes seen in slum areas in the modern industrialized western countries; as well as, preindustrial settled societies. This stratum or a group of horizontally extended people has features peculiar to itself. Considering its nebulous and floating socio-demographic structure, some writers had called it 'the classless class', and some by visualizing its proletarianization in the industrializing societies 'the sub-proletariate'.

With the gradual disappearance of the old feudalistic organization, this 'classless class' has acquired a real importance; not only in Turkey, but also in many other parts of the world.

Here, in the following, our objective will be to give a brief description of this 'class' as it is seen in the gecekondu communities in the city of Ankara.

Before attempting to undertake this task a short note on method and material is due. After this the outline of the report will consist of the following items:

1. Basic facts of gecekondu families.
2. Occupational patterns and socio-economic differentiation.
3. General Conclusion.

THE METHOD AND THE MATERIAL:

The descriptive material and the analysis presented in this report rest on three basic sources:

1. The Study of the Gecekondu Families of Ankara,
2. Lengthy observations and the open-ended interviews,
3. Documents of the Ministry of Construction and Settlement.

The first document is a study made in Ankara, represented by 1000 families of Gecekondu Settlements. A part of this research was published in 1966 in one volume. For basic facts, we have drawn heavily on this document.

Lengthy observations and the open-ended interviews provide the second source. With the inception of the above-mentioned study in 1962, we have been in continuous contact with the people of gecekondu communities, where we had good chances to talk with and observe various aspects of their life closely in the natural setting.

By these techniques we have tried to understand and penetrate the more subtle phases of life, otherwise impossible to appreciate and without which the portrait of gecekondu community would have been very colourless and incomplete.

We have also attempted to make good use of the scanty material of the Ministry and the other monographic investigations.

THE BASIC FACTS ON THE GECEKONDU FAMILIES:

The family migration to settlement into the city is a complex phenomenon. First we will give a brief description of it.

Although it is very difficult to tell how long it has taken a family to become settled, it is possible to reveal other facts which help to bring about a better understanding of the living conditions in the gecekondu community.

The casual observer readily notices the differences in dress, manner,

behaviour, speech and jobs performed by the newly arrived. However, beneath these surface differences, people exist who are undergoing deep emotional turmoil as they attempt to adopt the ways of the city life.

Upon their arrival most are forced to live in inadequate housing. The first jobs at which they are employed are badly paid and the food which they are able to purchase is not sufficient for the maintenance of good health.

As soon as possible, after migrating, the newly-arrived sends for his family. Those who are bachelors marry. Then, the material and the moral support which comes from living together as a family makes it more appealing to stay.

Once a family is established, settlement becomes more and more rapid. However, the people learn that community relations with their new neighbours are not as easy as they were in the villages. Mutual aid facilities, forms of living, and variations of traditional patterns quite often are slowly disappearing.

Although they maintain communications with their villages this relationship too becomes weakened over a period of time. Nevertheless, these people look at the future with a great deal of hope. They compare the city with the village and, in spite of their feelings of despair, see the potential gains to be had. They give up the thought of returning home. As the years pass by, the family becomes settled into the city, the chain of events of the first phase of adjustment ends and new phases of settled living begins.

In the process of adjustment, possession of a shelter — *gecekodu* — is the most important event in the life of the family. If the settler happens to be a single person this event is usually followed by the formation of the new family after the patterns of the old village traditions.

Although weakened, the bride price is still asked either right at the beginning of the transaction or postponed to be thought of together with wedding expenses.

As the wedding event proceeds the nuptial procession and then 'trousseau show' take place in the bridegroom's house. A religious wedding is also performed either before or after the civil ceremony. It is much cheaper to have the civil ceremony performed at home, yet some people, for the sake of social prestige and showing, prefer 'The public wedding saloons'.

Wedding festivity is an occasion for the men and the women to entertain among themselves, usually separately. Despite this general tendency, however, some ethnic groups have mixed gatherings.

Most of the marriage unions are formed among the endogamic groups.

As a result of this practice, the family discords such as separation, desertion and divorce have been reduced tolerably. The family cohesion at the same time has its effect on the prolongation of the ties with the departed place. Despite this general tendency, among some gecekondu groups endogamic marriages are not practiced as much as formerly. This fact may be interpreted as an indication of the loosening of kinship bonds earlier than the ties uniting the villages and the families. From this it may also be said that nostalgia or longing for the departed places lasts longer than the love or longing for the kinfolk living there.

In Ankara's gecekondu communities an established family on the average, consists of 5.5 persons; and a density of 2.7 people for each room. By comparison with the city family, this is a young, relatively crowded group, in general satisfied with what children it has, not willing to have any more.

This family holds different attitudes towards its children's education and vocational choices. Boys almost always are urged to go to school, are helped in determining their vocations, while girls with a few exceptions are not.

The family's first vocational preference for the boys is the desire to see them becoming government employees (memur). In their view 'memurluk' has higher prestige and is a secure, clean and comfortable calling. There may be other reasons for this, but the existence among these people of a white collar superiority complex is the basic cause lying beneath this behaviour.

The big majority (70%) of the family heads can read and write, and those that cannot are willing to learn, even some to attend vocational courses if opened. This may be considered as another sign showing that these people are very anxious to make better and faster adjustment to their new environment.

Families in gecekondu settlements, comparatively speaking, are well equipped with communication media and mass entertainment facilities.

Families in general have twice as many radio sets as newspaper subscriptions. This discrepancy comes from the fact that a radio is an instrument of leisure and culture, bringing novelties from great distances, and once bought, is much cheaper than the newspaper subscription, which needs to be repeatedly renewed.

Families are accustomed to listening to different kinds of radio stations, including foreign ones. In the listening preference folk songs rank first, daily news, commentaries, religious-moral talks, popular Turkish music and radiophonic plays, in turn, follow. The people's interests fade away gradually for useful talks, advertisement announcements, and occidental music.

Interest shown in listening to music and plays comes from the need of amusement and in the other programmes out of curiosity for news concerning national and international affairs. In the midst of many difficult situations waiting for solutions, by resorting to religious-moral talks people hope to find conciliation and relief.

Among the various factors affecting radio listening habits, cultural level, speeches of the political parties, critical international conflicts are of some importance.

In the area of other recreational activities chance games, like Spor Toto, gets the first preference, Sport activities, such as football matches, horse races, being expensive entertainments, are not much appreciated.

The habit of going to moving-pictures is gradually developing. In that people prefer open-air cinemas. Very few people show interest in going to theatres, operas and concerts. Instead, families enjoy very much having neighbourly visits and joint picnics.

Discrepancy existing in this field between the generations and the men and the women is due to their different environments and experiences.

Gecekondü folk in respect to traditional mutual aid patterns, religious observations, superstitious beliefs, practices, values and in some attitudes, takes a place somewhere between the city and the village people.

Among the families' traditions, mutual aid has weakened to a great extent; but another kind of aid, in the form of borrowing things, is still widely maintained.

Although very limited in number some family heads are affiliated members of trade unions, political parties, cooperative societies and local organizations. This may be interpreted as a gradual emerging of a new attitude, having a direction towards a more rational way of cooperation. Glimpses of the same tendency can be traced in some aspects in the spiritual sphere also.

Among the people there are sizable proportions of those who believe in the evil eye, spirits, genie and demons and who are afraid of being harmed by them. For the realization of a strong wish and deliverance from a predicament some people are in the habit of going to hodjas, amulet makers, charmers, local saints and some even hope for help from witchcraft.

In the observance of the daily five prayers the women are more regular and more devout than the men, older people more so than the youth group. In the month of Ramadan this situation changes completely. All of the adults the men or the women fast and perform their religious duties without any interruption.

In the other months of the year, in the observation of the Friday prayers,

men are divided into two groups, of which the first attends these prayers, but irregularly and the second has given up praying. These two groups comprise one-third of the total men. This being a typical city the men's behaviour shows us rather clearly how urbanization had affected one of the deeply rooted and strongest religious practices. At the present time, this change could not have taken place in an orthodox Moslem village community.

The degree and the scope of change in men's attitudes towards some specific fashions of women may be another good sign of urbanization. The study contained several questions meant to find out whether any change took place after settling in the city.

According to the answer given to these questions, the men in general and the family heads in particular, in a descending order (changing between 78% and 62%) have unfavourable attitudes towards such aspects of women's behaviour as going outside without stockings, with painted nails, short sleeved dresses, heads uncovered, painted faces and short cut hair. But the same people with about equal proportions (64% and 62%) did not approve of women wearing veils and outer garments and approximately the same proportion of them approved of men and women mixed family visits.

As the above explanation shows, in these particular attitudes men are divided into two groups, floating between two extremes. For one group of fashions they are very rigid, for the second rather tolerant. It will be noticed that the first group of fashions concerns with women's clothing and dressing habits, of which none are of rural origin. Of the second, the first two are original city women's habits and the last, a new custom adopted after the Ataturk Revolutions. The chief causal factors for this phenomenon are closely related to age, span of time of the settlement and the socio-economic level of these groups.

So far, we have been concerned with some general matters such as: the population explosion as it affected the rapid growth of the cities in Turkey recently; the differentiating and the unifying features of the gecekondus and the old city communities; the method, the paper, and finally some selective background facts on these communities. Some of these facts were concerned only with the gecekondus families. However, for the reasons that we have indicated previously, these communities have much in common and therefore, the general statements made for the one may be valid for the other, too. Keeping these remarks in mind, we now turn to the second part of our problem. It is this.

What are the different socio-economic layers within the broad stratum of joint gecekondus and the old city communities and how are they related to each other?

To answer these questions we have no other and better criterion than the occupational pattern of these communities.

OCCUPATIONAL PATTERNS AND THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRATIFICATION:

It will be impossible to penetrate into these communities and to understand their problems unless we know how families have drifted from villages, have found jobs in cities, the kind of jobs they have had until the present, their annual and per capita incomes, and their incomes per household.

One significant point that we know is that the majority of the family heads have drifted to find their first jobs in cities through their personal efforts. This indicates that when they decided to leave their villages they came with the knowledge that they would face certain adjustment difficulties.

Efficient and well-known organizations, who undertake the responsibility of guiding the workers who come to cities, are new in Turkey. For this reason people experience a 'period of readjustment' at the beginning. It may be well imagined that it is not easy for those people who have little or no knowledge of work conditions and opportunities in the city, to employ same kind of 'trial and error method' in finding jobs. Finding a job in this way may be considered the starting point of the process of adjusting to city life.

The fact that only a few family heads (13 altogether) actually found jobs through the Employment Organization, and (17%) through their relatives kinsmen and acquaintances, requires attention.

The people often hesitate to contact an official organization because, when they come to the city they are shy and confused. It is also known that in the city, by the passage of time, the kinship ties weaken.

We already know that people leave their jobs when they secure better ones and find their present jobs after trying quite a few others. It has not been possible to reach a satisfactory answer to the question of the types and average number of jobs they have held in the past. Possibly the main reason is that the jobs then held previously have been alike in nature and importance, and therefore, they have not taken our inquiry very seriously. If however this question had received proper attention, it would have been possible to establish the progress and the regression of the people and economic positions and horizontal and vertical occupational mobility. Nevertheless, we were able to *obtain* some figures about their monthly incomes and a fairly detailed account of their occupations.

THE MONTHLY INCOME:

There are some difficulties in getting correct figures about the incomes of the families.

At the beginning of our interviews the heads of the families did not want to answer questions about their incomes and they considered the subject 'taboo'. When we insisted, they were obliged to answer. We would like to point out, therefore, that there are some factors which lead us to question the validity of their answers.

One of these is the fact that they apparently tended to state their incomes as lower than they actually are as a means of indicating that their economic standing is unsatisfactory. However, this tendency is not only peculiar to the gecekondu families. The majority of the city and village dwellers also show this tendency to lower the value of their incomes when asked this question.

The second difficulty in collecting precise data about the monthly incomes of these families is that some of these family heads either concealed or refrained from answering this question correctly because they intentionally underestimated the amount of additional income brought into the family budget. For instance, the majority of young men and boys who deliver newspapers or sell 'Boza', water, nuts and grapes on the streets, shoe-shine boys and open market-porters are from these families. Women who are maids, office servants, dress-makers, or peddlers are also members of these families. Their contribution to the family budgets cannot be estimated. In some families these contributions, which look as if they are just small additional earnings, amount to a sum more than the incomes of the family heads.

TABLE I:

MONTHLY INCOMES OF THE FAMILY HEADS

INCOME GROUPS	NO. OF F. HEADS	%
100 - 200	84	8
201 - 300	216	22
301 - 400	229	23
401 - 500	157	16
501 - 600	93	9
600 -	111	11
I don't know	26	3
No answer	84	8
TOTAL	1,000	100

Out of the sample, 891 heads of the families answered this question for themselves and only 21 for their wives. 26 of them replied that they could not say how much they earn as they only work whenever they find a job and experience frequent periods of unemployment. Excluding this latter group the others fall under the following categories: 100-200; 201-300; 301-400; 401-500; 501-600; 600 and up. Their respective percentages are 8, 22, 23, 15, 9 and 2. The difference between those who fall into the groups of 201-300 and 301-400 is very little. When we add these two groups, they constitute almost half of the total families.

Those whose incomes fall under the category of 401-500 constitute 16% of the total and those in the next two categories (501-600); (600 and up) constitute 20%. Families having a monthly income of 500 TL and more constitute one seventh of the total. The average monthly income of the family heads is 386 Turkish Lira.

Out of 21 wives the earnings of 10 fall into the categories of 100-200. The earnings of 2, fall into 301-400; and one, falls into 500-600. The average of their monthly incomes is 235 TL. This average however is lower than what was expected as the average income for women living in the gecekondu communities.

The average of the annual income of the gecekondu family-heads is 4632. the per capita income being as high as 842 TL. When the incomes that the family-heads have concealed and those of the other members of the families are added, it is very likely that the per capita income will be higher than this figure, amounting to at least 1500 TL. In 1960, the average per capita national income was about 1500 TL. When this average is compared with the average of the annual per capita income of the village families we immediately realize the higher income level of the gecekondu families.

If the State Statistics Institute had established the shares the social classes claimed out of the National income, instead of the abstract average income for Turkey, it would have given an opportunity to make more concrete, realistic comparisons. Although deprived of such an opportunity we do know that the lion's share of welfare goes to a very small minority. The difference, especially between this small group and the great mass of villagers dealing with agriculture, has been growing each year like an avalanche. For this reason, it is evident that the gecekondu families have reached a higher living standard than that of the great mass of villages which they left some time ago. This means that at one end of the internal migration, there is the unchanging misery and impossibilities of village life, and at the other, there is an opportunity to be able to live at one corner of the city with a relatively higher income secured through a variety of means.

In connection with this general problem we included two more specific questions in our questionnaire with the hope that it could elucidate some of the habits the gecekondü families have acquired in the city. One of these questions was whether the family heads had a banking account; the other was what would be the priority of their wishes if their incomes were to be increased. Very few family heads answered the first question positively as many seemed to want to conceal that information. Therefore, we can assume that the proportion of these families with bank accounts must be higher.

According to the data available only 138 (14%) (out of 916 families) have accounts in a bank. Although the figure is quite low, it is significant in showing that they do acquire some habits in the city. Even when the villager could save some money, however small it may be, he hides it in a bundle, buries it in his barn or adds another gold coin to his wife's necklace. Depositing money in the bank is a characteristic of city dwellers. It is evident that the gecekondü families are a bridge between the traditional villagers and the city dwellers. It is seen that as a result of the internal migration and settling in the city there is both an increase in the incomes of these families and a change and improvement in their way of 'saving'. Having this fact in mind, we wanted to find out the effect of their incomes and savings on their ways of thinking; we asked the following question for this reason:

'If your present income were 2 or 3 times as much as it is now what would be your three wishes — in order of priority — as to how you would want to spend this additional money?'

In the sample the percentage of those who do not have a house is 31%. The percentage of those who want a house increased to 51% reflecting a difference of 20% between these two figures. There are various reasons why people want a house although they may already own one. Some may want a new house because their families may have enlarged and, still others may want to change to a new neighbourhood for several reasons. There may be those who consider buying a new house in a new neighbourhood for prestige factors. Whatever the reason may be, the fact is that to these gecekondü families who have been living in the city for a considerably long time and who have improved their financial status a house means a sturdy construction which is built according to sanitary standards and which they can legally possess, rather than a hastily built barrack which hangs over their heads like Demokles's sword.

The monthly or yearly incomes give an idea about the gecekondü family and community in general and this is a good way of presenting data, especially when we compare this community with the village and the country

as a whole. One of the objective ways of getting an idea concerning the socio-economic differentiation as we previously remarked, is to look into the occupational patterns of this community. When this is considered together with the first procedure, we get a better understanding of our problem.

OCCUPATIONAL PATTERNS:

Excluding the ones who acquired a profession while serving in the army, the largest number of the family heads living in the gecekondu areas did not know the craft and skills they have today when they first came to the cities. According to our figures, one fourth of the family heads have learned the necessary knowledge and skill to carry out their present jobs after arriving in the city. The percentage of technical skills and occupations learned in the city is 36%. The rest of the jobs in which skills were acquired in the city (64%) are of a varied nature. All of these occupations demand proficiency and technical knowledge. These family heads in particular, possess the characteristics of the tradesmen and craftsmen of the city and for this reason they perform very useful functions in the life of the community.

With the exception of the ones demanding proficiency and technical skill, it was a serious problem to make a classification of gecekondu people's occupations. There are several reasons for this. One of the reasons for this difficulty is that there are many types of occupations and in some cases, the occupation is of an ambiguous nature which may very well mean it is classified under more than one category. Therefore, we do not think that it is appropriate to classify families according to classical or technical standards. Because these families have not yet made adjustments to city life they tend to change their occupations often, losing continuity, therefore, in their occupational patterns. The answers given to the questionnaire revealed the fact that the families living in the gecekondu areas hold 170 types of different jobs, which we classified under 8 groups, besides those who were unemployed or did not answer the question. Out of these, the skilled worker's group comprises 54 different jobs; the unskilled worker's group 12; the manual employees, 13; small tradesmen's, 36; farmers and animals dealers group, 4; civil servants, 48; among them there are those whose occupations are not clear, such as those who are religious leaders, and, there is small number of those who receive incomes from investments which makes it more difficult to describe occupational groups as well as individual occupations. Furthermore, because our main concern is the impact of occupations on structure and order of families we have classified the State-Employed drivers

for instance, as skilled workers, even though they are legally referred to as 'manual employees'. Therefore, our category called 'manual employee' includes a broader range of occupations than the legal category.

We have also classified the small number of income holders as a separate group. Having these in mind, let us now examine the data given in Table 2.

TABLE 2

MAIN TYPES OF OCCUPATIONS OF FAMILY-HEADS

TYPES OF OCCUPATIONS	NO. OF FAMILIES	%
Skilled worker craftsman	264	27.0
Unskilled worker	114	11.5
Manual employee	152	15.0
Small tradesman and merchant	169	17.0
Farmer - cattle dealer	12	1.0
Income holder	8	1.0
Civil servant	146	14.5
Unemployed	35	3.5
Not clear	16	1.5
No answer	84	8.0
TOTAL	1000	100.0

The first point which deserves attention in the table is that the skilled workers and the craftsman constitute more than one fourth of the total number of families. This shows that the main occupational group in the gecekondu settlements is that of the skilled workers and craftsman. Actually the skilled workers, that is, those who possess a certain skill and do jobs requiring technical knowledge, constitute this group. Some of the skilled workers and craftsmen work in factories, some for private individuals, and some in their own workshops.

It is very often difficult to tell the skilled workers and craftsmen apart from each other, for their lives, moral values and habits appear to be very much the same. As a result, they constitute one social stratum of the gecekondu communities.

The second largest occupational group is the small tradesmen and merchants. The difference in ratio between the first and this group is 10%.

Small tradesmen and merchants have common characteristics in their occupations, and it is often difficult to separate them. They both sell retail goods. Although there are a few tradesmen and merchants in this

group who operate relatively large scale business, the majority of them do very small businesses. The reason why they are similar in their patterns of living and in their social and economic relations among themselves and with others is because they unite together politically and socially when necessary to protect their own interests and those of the community. In contrast to the technical and practical knowledge and skill of the first group, their knowledge pertains only to the field of trade and business and they tend to be outspoken and active in the community.

When we look at the list enumerating the kinds of jobs held by those in the first (skilled - worker craftsman) and the second groups, (small tradesmen and merchant) we will see that their earnings do not widely differ. Therefore, it is possible to unite these two main groups. If we added to these figures the small number of family heads holding incomes and those who are farmers and cattle dealers we would have as high a ratio as 46%. The common characteristics of these groups is that they have reached a similar economic level as a result of the nature of their occupations. The jobs held by these families are more stable and continues. Therefore, it may be well ascertained that the group of skilled workers and craftsman, and that of the small tradesmen and merchants comprise the most widespread stratum of the gecekondu settlement. The small tradesman and the merchants constitute the upper half of this stratum, while the skilled workers and the craftsman, constitute the lower half. However, they are the continuation of one another. The class differentiation between the two groups is rather loose and not definite.

Among this group, hawkers, old-clothes peddlers and open market dealers have an important place in the city life. Taking this fact into consideration, we would like to put more emphasis on these tradesmen.

Hawkers, old-clothes peddlars and open-market dealers play a particular role in the economic life of the city. The open-market dealers spend seven days of the week in seven different quarters of the city. Most of the people obtain their weekly food from the open-market dealers.

The importance of old-clothes peddlars in the life of a city is for a different reason. They usually buy clothes belonging to the members of 'the new middle class' who have reached a high economical level, and who do not want to use these clothes although they have not been completely worn out, those clothes are then sold to the people who cannot afford to buy new clothes. There is hardly another example which reveals the great material and value difference between these two classes.

Undoubtedly, two of the most important occupational groups in the gecekondu settlements of Ankara are the skilled workers and craftsman, and the small tradesman and merchants. Their importance lies in their

financial means and in the variety of their activity. The difference between these two groups is not as much of a financial nature as it is of diversity in their fields of influence. Among the family heads belonging to these groups there are those who hold more than one job, those who are the unscrupulous gecekondu — house builders, or business man. This small group is composed mainly of families who have come to the city earlier, and constitute economically and socially, the upper stratum of the community. Compared to other strata, it has attained more stability and a higher income and has also achieved a certain degree of adjustment to city life. This is a group which takes close interest in political matters. It is notoriously known for its skill in playing politics with politicians.

The percentage of unskilled workers and manual employees are 11.5% and 15% respectively. When considered together these make up more than one fourth of the total number of families. Almost all the unskilled workers are badly off. They lack satisfactory earnings, and education. If we add to this group those who do not work and whose jobs are uncertain, it would constitute almost one third of the total number of families. This group is the lowest stratum of the gecekondu community.

As a group the small office servants and door-keepers live in with a feeling of pretence, and try to assume certain behavioural habits which belong to the civil servants. This group aspires to the family life of the civil servants rather than that of the middle stratum of the gecekondu communities. Although this group is more conscious of social problems than the skilled workers, they tend to be apathetic towards them because of the subservient nature of their relations with others.

The majority of the small office-servants and door-keepers are employed by the state departments, while some work in private business and apartment houses. The family heads in this group have a better educational background, and higher, but set, monthly salaries. There are not great differences in their salaries; therefore they are similar to low rank government officials with fixed salaries.

Another point which requires attention is that 14.5% of the gecekondu families are civil servants. This is only natural, as Ankara is a city of administration. The great majority of these civil servants are low rank officials working for the municipality or state departments. Even if this group lives in the same regions as the others, the fact that they are of a higher educational and cultural level, separates them from other groups in their living conditions, view points, moral values and habits. The heads of the families constituting this group possess more general knowledge than technical skills, only some of them are engaged in physical labour, and therefore, the majority can be called 'white collar' workers.

In addition to this difference between the unskilled workers and this group, relatively higher salaries which place them at a level economically closer to the first group of skilled workers craftsmen constitute another difference. In other words, the civil servants constitute the middle stratum of the gecekondu communities.

CONCLUSION:

In the preceeding pages we have attempted to give an account of a newly-emerging community in many respects dissimilar to the old established communities.

The emergence of this new community is not a phenomenon peculiar only to Turkey, but to all industrializing or semi-feudalistic societies of the world. At present there are very scanty up-to-date empirical studies in this important area. We are especially in need of comparative investigations in different socio-economic classes of the developing cities as well as in the countries.

We need such studies not merely out of scientific curiosity but especially for urgent practical considerations. Without the basic information and the most needed facts, many problems facing these communities cannot be efficiently tackled and realistic social and economic national planning cannot be properly executed.